The Miners' Fight Is The Fight Of All Labor

THE MILITANT

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MINERS STRIKE AS BOSSES SPURN PACT

Coal Barons Leaned On Government Support

CIO and AFL Ranks Support The Miners

The CIO auto workers and the AFL seamen put their important unions on record for full support of the miners' fight early in the struggle. And in doing so they were undoubtedly speaking for the overwhelming majority of the membership of all unions, and gave the lie to the boss press claim that the miners stood alone.

One thousand delegates representing directly 350,000 Michigan members of the United Auto Workers, meeting in conference in Detroit May 2, rejected a resolution of their International officers condemning John L. Lewis and the miners' use of the strike weapon, and instead adopted a forthright resolution completely solidarizing themselves with the militant stand of the miners.

Likewise 1,000 delegates representing all eastern locals of the United Auto Workers, meeting in New York on May 6, adopted a resolution, specifically defending strike action by the miners, as follows:

"Whereas the miners are now engaged in a bitter struggle for a decent living standard and whereas this struggle MAY CONCEIVABLY BREAK OUT INTO INDUSTRIAL WARFARE of the old kind, and whereas the miners will be opposed in their just demands by various anti-labor forces, and the fight against John L. Lewis is not the issue in this particular case, and whereas it is evident that the miners' fight, involving as it does the struggle against lowering the living standard, is actually the fight of every working man and woman of America; therefore be it resolved that the delegates here concerned go on record as endorsing the demands of the miners."

The Sailors Union of the Pacific (AFL) voted unanimous support for the miners' fight at its May 4 headquarters meeting—which speaks for the union as a whole.

Likewise the Seafarers Log, official organ of the Atlantic & Gulf District of the Seafarers International Union (AFL) declared in an editorial on May 14:

"The miners' struggle against the WLB, a 'court packed against labor,' is all labor's struggle. A miners' victory over the WLB and the Little Steel Formula would be a victory for all union men from coast to coast."

Akron's rubber workers demonstrated their solidarity with the miners by emulating them in a five-day strike last week. Chrysler workers did likewise in a four-day walkout.

Don't believe the lies of the boss press! The workers, both AFL and CIO, are for the miners —even where the top union officialdom and the finky Stalinists, servile agents of Roosevelt, are preventing the masses in the unions from expressing their solidarity toward the miners.

Ickes' Damning Admission

"...THERE ARE A FEW POWERFUL OPERATORS WHO FROM THE BEGINNING HAD DELIBERATELY OPPOSED ANY COMPROMISES WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO A REASONABLE SETTLEMENT."

—From Ickes' June 1 telegram to the operators and the UMW.

UNION ACCEPTS ICKES' COMPROMISE PROPOSAL; OPERATORS REJECT IT

June 2. — 533,000 coal miners walked out of the nation's collieries on June 1 as the second strike truce expired, and as the coal barons sat tight, refusing all terms, waiting for the government to smash the strike for them. They rejected out of hand even the compromise proposal, made by Ickes and accepted by the miners, for a temporary portal-to-portal payment, pending final settlement. What has emboldened the operators has been the continued support of the WLB and all other government agencies which sided openly with them throughout the long months of negotiations.

The exemplary discipline of the coal miners, their complete loyalty to their union, their militancy and determination to secure a right to live have been so impressive, that the government officials and newspapermen are no longer speculating as to whether the ranks of the miners can be broken. No one is pretending any longer that the mine strike is the result of the action of one individual.

During the 15 days of the second strike truce the War Labor Board on May 25 rendered its decision in the coal dispute. The Board rejected the demands of the union for a $2 a day wage increase. It also denied the union all its other important demands except for several minor concessions which would benefit the miners by approximately 8 to 15 cents a day.

OPERATORS MAKE MOCKERY OF NEGOTIATIONS

The Board instructed the coal operators, however, to resume collective bargaining negotiations with the union on the issue of portal-to-portal pay.

This Board decision was freely interpreted by labor observers as paving the way for the achievement of a rapid agreement on the portal-to-portal pay issue and the clearing of the mine dispute from off the docks.

However, in the week between the WLB decision and the expiration of the strike truce, the coal operators continued their previous policy of making a mockery of the collective bargaining negotiations. "I don't see any point in sitting around the table any longer," one of the members of the operators' committee stated as the deadline neared. "We have gone as far as we can and for the last day or two, we have just looked at each other and made the same arguments without getting anywhere."

The coal operators, under the leadership of the U. S. Steel Corporation, and with the active backing of the most important sections of the industrialists, have from the first day of the mine negotiations, three months ago, demonstrated that they were determined to grant no concessions whatever to the coal miners. They were bent on a dramatic warning to all of American labor that it had better get reconciled to the idea of having wage standards driven down. It was under the barrage of the monopolists that Roosevelt issued his infamous "hold the line" order of April 8.

STEEL OCTOPUS OUT FOR BLOOD

Their conduct of the last five days since the issuance of the WLB decision, added to their performance of the three months before, now makes perfectly obvious that the U. S. Steel Corporation representing America's billion-dollar corporations is determined to provoke a bloody settlement with the coal miners at the present time the vanguard of the working class.

They made this all too clear when they rejected Lewis' last-hour compromise offer on the basis of Ickes' proposals that a temporary settlement of the portal-to-portal pay demands be made on the basis of $1.50 increase per day, while an impartial commission would make a factual survey to determine actual underground travel time, with the final settlement retroactive to April 1.

PRESS, RADIO LIES

The newspaper barrage against the coal miners is already under way. The press and the radio have begun howling against the mine union leadership and Ickes himself stated on June 1 in his telegram to the mine union that **"the president of the United Mine Workers cannot escape responsibility for the cessation of work."** Some of the newspapers and commentators are already freely discussing the calling out of U. S. troops to crush the mine strike; others are proposing that all union funds be seized and that

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Bulletin

PITTSBURGH, June 1 — Without any special strike call being issued, and with casual matter of factness the miners here today stopped digging coal. Word was sent around last night that the truce had not been extended and every miner to a man gave the answer; "We don't work without a contract." There has not been a single incident reported of any miner around here who would continue working without knowing how much he was to be paid for it.

Natalia Trotsky's Statement On Dissolution Of Comintern

MEXICO CITY, May 22 (By Mail) — Stalin's move to dissolve the Communist International makes it "clear to the world that the tradition of the October Revolution and of Lenin and Trotsky is carried on only by the Fourth International," says Natalia Sedov Trotsky in a statement today released to the Mexican newspaper, *Excelsior*, the Associated Press and United Press.

The full text of the statement by the widow of the founder of the Fourth Lnternational follows:

"The formal dissolution of the Third International by Stalin is but the final rite in the slow death of a once revolutionary organization."

"The Third International has long since ceased to exist as a progressive force in the workers' movement: Stalinist policy slandered and killed its founders and ideological leaders; by means of a constantly shifting but always fallacious policy the Stalinist International led its sections to defeat successively in China, in Germany, in Spain and in France.

"The tragedy of each such defeat was that it signified the crushing of the labor classes in these countries, the victory of Fascist and Nazi reaction and finally the preparation for the Second World War with its consequent onslaught against a Soviet Union now weakened by the defeats of its working class allies abroad as well as by the legal frameups and murder of the revolutionary generation at home.

"The press reports that Stalin was pleased with ex-Ambassador Davies' book, 'Mission To Moscow,' and the film of the same name produced with semi-official approval in the United States. One cannot help but ask himself whether Stalin was not assured that by such methods the governments, at present allied to the Soviet Union, could better spread the lying justification of his crimes than could the subsidized local 'Communist' parties.

"It is now clear to the world that the tradition of the October Revolution and of Lenin and Trotsky is carried on only by the Fourth International."

J. P. Cannon Speaks On 'End Of The Comintern'

NEW YORK, June 2. — The revolutionary workers of New York gave their answer to Stalin's latest blow against internationalism at last Sunday evening's mass meeting in Irving Plaza where J. P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke on "The End of the Comintern and the Prospects of Labor Internationalism."

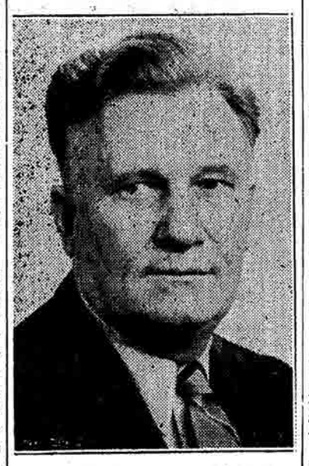
More than 300 assembled workers showed their devotion to international solidarity by their enthusiasm, by their eager response to the chairman's appeal for funds to propagate the ideas of revolutionary socialism and by their serious questions and discussion. It was one of the outstanding public meetings held in New York in the fifteen years of American Trotskyism, and attracted the largest number of sympathizers and new friends in recent years.

Comrade Cannon explained the meaning of Stalin's delayed official burial of a ten-year-dead corpse of the Comintern, and cited the struggle of the Russian Left Opposition and the warnings of Leon Trotsky as long ago as 1923 about the degeneration of the Third International because of its false line since Lenin's death, a line stemming from Stalin's reactionary nationalist theory of "socialism in one country." He demonstrated to the intensely attentive audience how the Stalinist policies inevitably brought about the ignominious end of the Comintern.

THE ONLY INTERNATIONAL

On the eve of the Second World War, Trotsky had predicted that the pretentious "internationals" of Stalinism, the Social-Democracy, and the "London Bureau" (Brandler, Lovestone and Co.) would not survive the war. As Comrade Cannon pointed out, Trotsky's prediction has been borne out to the hilt; only the Fourth International, at whose smallness and weakness so many had sneered, remains.

The Fourth International, founded by Trotsky, alone holds out any hope to the tortured masses of the world for a way out of their slavery and suffering. It alone continues the fight. It embodies in itself all the great and revolutionary ideas and traditions



JAMES P. CANNON

of its predecessors, and no power on earth can dissolve it. **The time for the dissolution of Trotsky's International, Cannon said, will come only when it dissolves into the masses of completely emancipated humanity, and when, in the words of our battle song, "the International becomes the human race."**

IMPORTANCE REALIZED

Everyone present in the hall was imbued with the spirit of internationalism and with the historical importance of this meeting and of the great events that it foreshadowed. (See editorial, "Historic Meeting," on Page 4 of this issue.)

A total of $581 was donated in the collection to aid the work of the Socialist Workers Party and to help spread the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky in the United States. C. Charles was chairman.

The complete text of James P. Cannon's speech will appear in next week's issue of The Militant.

Farrell Dobbs Brings Labor Party Issue To Forefront

By C. THOMAS

After opening his national tour with a highly successful meeting in Los Angeles on May 9, Farrell Dobbs, National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, proceded to San Diego and San Francisco where he spoke before enthusiastic audiences on the needs and prospects of an Independent Labor Party.

Comrade Dobbs' tour is serving to focus the attention of the entire party and many militants in the labor movement on the new stage of political development of the American working class.

SAN FRANCISCO MEETINGS

Speaking in San Francisco on May 24 and 28, Comrade Dobbs outlined the development of the S.W.P. position on the question of independent working class political action since the establishment of the CIO; and described the rising crescendo of the class struggle which saw the workers in the mass production industries storm and conquer one after another seemingly impregnable fortress of the open shop. Then came the formation of Labor's Non-Partisan League with its promise of a break from the two party system of political control by the bosses. Meanwhile, the rapidly developing world crisis of capitalism led to the feverish rearmament race between the contending imperialist powers, thus stimulating production and easing the economic crisis. Throughout this period the Socialist Workers Party continued its propaganda campaign for independent working class political action.

With the outbreak of World

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Akron Strikers Resume Work In Fighting Mood

By Joseph Andrews

AKRON, May 29. — After a five-day demonstration of their power and solidarity, over 50,000 striking rubber workers returned to work this week, with their ranks unbroken and their spirit high.

Before the strike was halted, the arrogant War Labor Board was forced to agree to accept a United Rubber Workers petition for a rehearing and reconsideration of its decision to grant only 3 cents an hour to the rubber workers.

The end of the strike is not the end of the rubber workers' fight against WLB wage-freezing policies; the workers look upon it only as the end of round one. They have retired to their corner, fighting mad, ready for the next round.

UNTIL JUNE 16. . .

In a great mass meeting at their union hall, the Goodrich workers of URW Local 5 voted to give the WLB until June 16 to reconsider its 3 cent decision; although the Firestone and Goodyear workers have not as yet held meetings, the Goodrich motion no doubt represents the sentiments of all the Akron strikers.

"If the WLB does not give us favorable reconsideration by June 16," George Bass, Local 5 President stated, "we'll give them another dose of the same medicine, and next time it will be fully authorized by our executive board."

In many ways the rubber strike was one of the most significant and inspiring class battles since Pearl Harbor:—

1. It was a direct continuation of the miners' struggle against the Roosevelt administration's attempts to smash living standards by holding down wages while the cost of living skyrockets. It was not only an economic, but a political struggle against the whole apparatus of the government.

2. The rubber strike was a great rank and file upheaval, which broke out in spite of the International Union official's attempt to stifle it, and the overwhelming majority of the members of the union and local officers, defied all attempts to intimidate them.

3. It was the first major challenge to the no-strike pledge of Philip Murray and the top CIO officers.

CAUSE OF STRIKE

The anger and resentment of the rubber workers had been mounting for weeks before the strike. The year-long delay of the WLB in making a decision on the wage demands of the URW, had overtaxed the workers' patience. The Goodrich, Goodyear and Firestone corporation, under the cover of the no-strike pledge, grew bolder in their speedup campaign from week to week. They refused to settle grievances and would grant little or no concessions in the drawn-out contract negotiations which preceded the strike.

The WLB decision granting 3 cents an hour general increase, after the WLB Rubber Panel had recommended 8 cents an hour and night shift bonuses, was the final provocation which the workers would not tolerate.

The Goodrich workers, armed with the strongest union and the

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The Right Way To Answer This Danger

AKRON—Some rubber workers were openly saying during the recent strike that the union should demand that the army take over the plants.

George Bass, Goodrich President, gave the answer to this demand. At the Goodrich mass meeting he stated:

"When the army takes over, the company officials still run the plant. But they send in a bunch of shavetails who manage to stay away from the fighting fronts. These officers then compile a list of union militants, brand them as subversive, throw them out of the plant.

"In Washington, I was shown a list of 154 Goodrich workers, who were accused of shutting down the Goodyear plant. I told them that if any action were taken against these leaders of our local, they would soon learn that this strike is just a sample of what we can do."

DISTRICT 4 MINERS FIRM ON EVE OF SECOND STRIKE

By George Breitman

(Special to THE MILITANT)

UNIONTOWN, Pa., May 26. — In the period immediately preceding the War Labor Board's decision that the coal operators and the United Mine Workers should resume collective bargaining, I spent some time in this area, the center of District 4 of the UMW, and observed for myself that the miners there are as determined to win their wage demands as they are in other mining areas.

The district officials of the union were not making any statements to the press, but it was not hard to find out what the miners themselves were thinking. There are 84 locals in this district, and while it is impossible to get around to all of them in a short period, a sample of opinion in the mining communities around here gave me the following picture:

WHY THEY'RE CONFIDENT

The miners are confident they are going to win this fight. The question I asked was: "Do you think you will obtain a substantial portion of your demands?" And always the answer was an unhesitating yes. When I asked why, their answer generally went like this:

"Because we're the only ones who can mine coal and they're not going to make us do it unless they give us enough wages to do it right and to feed our families on at least the same standard we had before the war. You know you can lead a horse to water but you can't make him drink."

NO TRUST IN WLB

They know that it will not be an easy job to win their fight, but they are depending on the strength and solidarity of their organization and they feel they cannot lose as long as they have that.

They were openly scornful of

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Significance Of The Akron-Detroit Strikes

By M. Stein and J. Andrews
(Special to THE MILITANT)

Within one week the major rubber plants of Akron, the rubber capital of the country, were shut down by a strike of over 50,000 workers. In Detroit, "the arsenal of democracy," 29,000 workers of the Chrysler Corporation concluded a four day strike. To this can be added lesser strikes in recent days in the Ohio-Michigan industrial area, which got only scant notice.

These strikes have been stigmatized as outlaw — without the sanction of the international union officials, in violation of their no-strike pledge, and in defiance of the elaborate government machinery that is supposed to be strike-proof.

When the coal miners struck May 1, the government, the press and radio blamed it on John L. Lewis and his alleged personal grievance against Roosevelt. What about these strikes? To whom are they attributed by these gentlemen? There is no answer forthcoming to this question. **Unlike Lewis, R. J. Thomas of the Auto Workers and Sherman Dalrymple of the Rubber Workers have left no stone unturned to keep the workers in the plants.**

But let us put aside the question of personal responsibility which was so much emphasized in the coal strike in order to sow division in the ranks of the miners and break their fighting morale. Let us turn instead to the real cause of the strikes — a cause powerful enough to have the effect of an explosive in breaking through the anti-strike dams and safeguards so carefully constructed by Roosevelt in cooperation with the top union officials.

Real Cause of Strikes

The monopoly corporations have been having a Roman holiday with the no-strike pledge of the AFL and CIO leaders. Bloated with swollen war profits, they took the no-strike pledge as a license to trample over the hard-won union conditions of the workers, to make a mockery of collective bargaining and contractual relationships. The grievance committees in the shops have been given an endless run-around every time they have tried to meet with the company representatives. We had a dramatic demonstration of this in the Ford Highland Park plant in Detroit on May 21 when the grievance committee representing 12,000 workers staged a sitdown in the offices of the company and sat there for 23 hours in the hope of getting a hearing. The Chrysler Corporation also has been completely cynical in its defiance of the union. The defiance of the corporation has incensed the workers, who have not known defeat and are cognizant of their own strength.

The Chrysler workers, who gave vent to their feeling of outrage in a four day strike, voted to go back to work. But they are still defiant, they are more than ever aware of their own strength and they most assuredly did not return in a spirit of defeat. They were promised that the company would negotiate in "good faith" and they have returned to see if the magnificent four day demonstration of their strength has impressed the company sufficiently to effect a change of attitude.

The strike in the rubber plants in Akron was different from the strike in Detroit only in that the War Labor Board was more directly involved. The War Labor Board, which has been acting more and more openly as the labor relations agency for the corporations, added insult to injury in a decision granting only a 3 cent an hour increase. Basically, it is the no-strike pledge which made it possible for the WLB to ignore the needs and demands of the workers.

The Stalinists, who tried to break the strike of the miners, have carried on their despicable activity with just as little success in Detroit and Akron.

Stalinist Strikebreaking

In Detroit they were the only ones who tried to inject the element of personal responsibility into the strike — that is, to find a scapegoat in an individual charged with responsibility for the strike. The choice of the individual has been very unfortunate for them. They branded Walter Reuther as the man responsible for the strike. Edelen, president of the Plymouth local, and Nat Ganley, Secretary of the Tool and Die Local 155, both Stalinist spokesmen, made haste to issue a press statement denouncing the strike and accusing Reuther of engineering it for inner union political reasons.

When charging Lewis with responsibility for the coal strike, the miners' enemies were able at least to point to his renunciation of the no-strike pledge. In the case of Reuther, however, a man who is publicly on record in support of the no-strike pledge, and who boasts of the success which he has had in preventing strikes in the General Motors division of the UAW, of which he is the director, this brazen falsehood had the effect of creating a storm of indignation among the striking workers.

Walter Reuther was chosen as the butt of attack by the Stalinists not because he backs the strikes, but because he opposed the Rickenbacker-Browder incentive pay speedup scheme.

The Stalinist method of blaming strikes on "agitators" is not unfamiliar, since it is borrowed from strike-breaking textbooks of the bosses.

While the striking workers had no means of settling scores with the Browder gang, they did not forget on the very day they voted to return to work to settle accounts with UAW Chrysler director Leo Lamotte, who had echoed the Stalinist line in the strike. A resolution was unanimously passed demanding that the UAW Executive Board remove Lamotte from his post without further delay.

In Akron the workers remained just as unconvinced by the Stalinist strikebreaking line as the Detroit workers. Browder's anti-strike speech, delivered in St. Louis, was reprinted and widely distributed as a full page ad in the **Summit County Labor News**, the best known labor paper in the area. The speech appeared in the issue of May 20. The next day the strike broke.

Against Powerful Forces

Powerful forces were lined up against the workers. The fact that the workers dared to strike in defiance of all these forces underlines all the more the genuine character of the workers' outrage and indignation. They revolted against the way in which the no-strike pledge has been interpreted by the corporations and the government as a green light to ride roughshod over the conditions and standards of the workers won over a period of years in hard-fought battles.

The Detroit and Akron strikes, coming shortly after the mine strike, and being a direct continuation of it, have challenged both Roosevelt's wage-freezing order and the no-strike pledge. These are the pillars upon which depends the whole administration policy of unloading the war costs on the workers' backs. As yet the struggle has not been resolved. Both sides have measured forces, have had skirmishes, but have not come to real grips.

Miners Strike As Coal Barons Spurn All Terms

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the mine workers be drafted into the army.

DAMNING ADMISSION

The government has been fully aware of this union-busting strategy of the coal operators under the leadership of U. S. Steel. This was indirectly admitted by Ickes himself when he stated in his telegram to the Union that "there are a few powerful operators who from the beginning had deliberately opposed any compromises which might lead to a reasonable settlement." And yet, in spite of this knowledge, the government has allowed the situation to drift, has levelled all of its attacks on the Union, and none on the operators, and now, at the expiration of the second strike truce, Ickes does not even condescend to ask the Union for another extension of the strike truce.

The militancy of the coal miners, the determination of their leaders not to permit themselves to be bulldozed out of their rights, and to win genuine wage concessions, not face-saving formulas, has thrust the government into a serious labor crisis and has placed Roosevelt in the most serious quandary of his career. Roosevelt as the spokesman of American capitalism, must destroy the standard of living of American labor and throttle the too-militant, aggressive trade union movement. At the same time, the stability of his regime rests upon an understanding with the labor movement through the agency of its top leadership and his continuing to pose as "a friend of labor."

The fact that Roosevelt personally has taken no action in an attempt to settle the mine strike, although the coal mines have been shut down already for over twenty-four hours, look ominous indeed. What dark schemes, what anti-labor conspiracies, are they busy hatching in the White House? If they attempt to crush the labor movement with violence, they will find that they are dealing with an aroused working class, ready to fight.

MINERS' FIGHT IS LABOR'S FIGHT

The fight of the coal miners is crucial today for all of American labor. If the miners emerge victorious, from the present struggle, all of American labor will achieve a signal victory. The road will be cleared for the declaration of independence of the trade union movement from the dead hand of the Roosevelt administration. If the coal strike is crushed, and the miners are defeated, the whole trade union movement will have suffered a serious defeat. This is the hour of decision.

The proposal of *The Militant* that the mine union send a call to every international union for aid in the present struggle, is more timely than ever before. The necessity of such a call is in no way invalidated because the UMW has reapplied for membership to the AFL. The miners cannot be defeated, if they enjoy the unqualified support moral, organizational, and financial, of the massed millions of American labor of the AFL and CIO. The automobile workers and rubber workers have already evinced their active solidarity with the miners. A bold campaign to translate this moral support and sympathy into active organizational support is the need of the hour. Every union, every local official, every international officer, must be forced to declare himself on the coal strike. Every effort must be made to organize a movement so powerful and overwhelming in support of the miners and their strike, that no one, not Roosevelt, nor the coal operators, nor the United States Steel corporation, will dare challenge its strength.

Two Soldiers Discuss The Mine Workers' Struggle

By GEORGE BREITMAN
(Special to THE MILITANT)

AKRON, Ohio, May 26 — On the train from Pittsburgh to Akron I happened to be seated opposite two soldiers returning to camp after a furlough spent with their families in the Pittsburgh area, and to hold a discussion with them on the coal crisis and the current rubber strike in Akron.

Both of them were in their twenties and had been workers in civilian life. One of them, whom we can here designate as Frank, came from a miner's family; he said his father had been in the mines for more than 20 years and his brother almost eight years, and he himself had worked there for a number of months before he moved away to get a factory job. The other, Jack, was an industrial worker who also appeared to be well acquainted with mining conditions.

"A SIMPLE CASE"

"If they want the miners to produce coal, why don't they pay them enough money to be able to do it?" Frank asked. "It's a simple case. The miners are getting more dollars than they did two years ago when I went into the army, but they can't get as much for their money as they did then. You can't tell me those people in Washington don't know that."

We spoke about the cost of living and Jack raised the question of the War Labor Board:

"The papers admit that prices have gone up at least 23% since the beginning of 1941. But all they'll let wages go up is 15%. That isn't my idea of stabilization. And that's not saying anything about taxes. My wife has to pay almost a month's wages in taxes alone."

"As if that 15% business isn't bad enough, look at what they did in Akron," Frank interjected. "There they wouldn't even give them the full 15%. It's no wonder they walked out. I'll tell you, things are getting to a pretty bad state in this country.

"RATHER DIE THAN SCAB"

I asked him what his family had thought about the recent mine strike, and got an answer similar to that which I had received on several occasion from the miners with whom I had talked in Western Pennsylvania:

"My old man is as patriotic as any man in the country, including anybody in Washington. He was in the last war and he belongs to the American Legion and if he was young enough he'd be in this war too. **But he would rather die than be a scab and working without a contract in the mines is the next thing to scabbing. He don't want to strike any more than the next man but why should he work to make the operators richer when the operators won't even sign a decent contract?"**

THE SOLDIERS' VIEWS

I remarked that it was natural for him to sympathize with the miners because he came from their ranks, but what about the other soldiers whom he knew—did they share his sentiments or those of the anti-union officers whose condemnation of the miners had been widely printed in the press?

"Of course there are some who are against the miners," he replied earnestly, "but I tell you they're the same ones who would be against the miners even if there was no war. But just the same there's plenty of soldiers I know who say the miners aren't being treated right.

"Don't you forget this—plenty of soldiers got wives and kids who got to be fed and they don't like it when they hear about prices so high their families got to get along on short rations. After all most of the soldiers come from working people and they know how it is. They don't want strikes anymore than anybody else but they know it ain't always the unions' fault when they get forced to strike."

I spoke to only two and have no way of knowing what the soldiers as a whole think about the struggle of the miners, rubber workers and the other militant unions, but I believe what my companions on the train said may be taken as an indication that there must be a considerable pro-union sentiment in the armed forces as elsewhere, despite the lying and provocative propaganda of the capitalist press.

DISTRICT 4 MINERS FIRM ON EVE OF SECOND STRIKE

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the War Labor Board. None of those with whom I talked had the slightest confidence in what it did or said. One of them declared:

"When we first started out, that board wasn't ready to give us a cent. When we showed them we weren't fooling, they began talking about a dollar. Maybe we'll have to show them more before they understand we want and need that $2."

QUESTION OF THE AFL

The main topic of conversation is prices and "that $2." I tried to find out what they thought about Lewis' application for the AFL to readmit the UMW, but they didn't seem very interested. "All we're worried about now is getting enough money to buy some meat and potatoes," they reiterated.

I don't know if it is true on a nation-wide scale, but the feeling I got from the remarks I heard in District 4 was that the miners don't seem to feel that the William Greens and Daniel J. Tobins are going to do very much to help them win their fight. They appear to believe that they must rely chiefly on their own organized strength.

FIERCELY DEVOTED TO THEIR UNION

The miners in this section are fiercely devoted to their union. I asked one mine worker in Fayette County, **"When were living conditions highest in this area for the miners' families?" — meaning in the last few years. Somewhat misunderstanding me, he answered vehemently: "Why, since the union came in strong here of course!"**

That was back in 1933, and neither he nor the other miners have forgotten how they had to fight to establish the union. When he described how miserably underpaid and exploited the coal diggers had been before that time, it was easy to understand why they have unionism and militancy deep in their blood.

As for conditions in the recent and present period, according to this same worker, who has been in the mines since he was 15 years old during the first world war: **"A man isn't any better off today than he was on WPA. It's just as hard to feed your family now as it was in those days. That's what burns me up."**

And that's what burns everyone else up. They can't get enough meat for love or money. And they can't even get enough potatoes to fill up the rest of their plates. Potatoes costs $3.85 a bushel; that is, almost $1 a peck, and few people can get them at that price. Black market prices? Unquestionably. But the miners can't feed their children with speeches from OPA officials.

Prices have come down a little in the past few weeks, but everyone understands "that's because we've been kicking. Soon as we stop kicking, prices will start going up again. The only way we can protect ourselves is by getting that $2. If we don't, prices are going to keep going up anyhow." No one has any faith in the willingness or ability of the OPA to keep prices stable. "They had plenty of chances to do that up to now. Why didn't they do it then?"

WHAT THEY WANT

A few of the miners themselves raised the question of Roosevelt and his approval of the War Labor Board and the Little Steel formula. "He's done some good things for labor," they declared, "but this isn't one of them. Freezing wages and letting the operators get richer isn't the right way to treat the common man."

And all the miners are resolved that they shall be "treated right."

Akron Strikers Resume Work In Fighting Mood

(Continued from page 1)

most militant leadership, walked out first. They were soon followed by the Firestone workers, and by a section of the Goodyear workers.

The strike began on Saturday morning, May 22. By Sunday the three plants were completely down. Only at the comparatively poorly organized Goodyear plant was mass picketing necessary. This was primarily due to the despicable role of a handful of Stalinists who attempted to sow dissension in the Goodyear strikers' ranks and to break the strike.

Very few workers at the Goodyear plant, which employs 18,000 workers, attempted to go through the picket lines. But confusion was caused by the circulation of fake telegrams from local leaders calling off the strike—a typical Stalinist fraud. But Goodyear workers soon showed where they stood. For the first time in Akron, the three big plants were simultaneously on strike.

The three local presidents, George Bass of Goodrich Local 5, Harley Treen of Firestone Local 7, and G. C. Lewis of Goodyear Local 2, were in Washington during almost the entire strike. The local executive boards of the Firestone and Goodyear unions were hesitant during the first two days to step out and organize the struggle. As a result rank and file militants, committeemen and stewards, took charge.

ROLE OF WOMEN

Women picket captains were among the most outstanding leaders. They kept a 24-hour vigil at the union headquarters, dispatching pickets to danger points; the men accepted their leadership without question. The great role of the women in this strike augurs well for the millions of women now working in the mass production industries.

The three big plants are situated at widely separated points in the city. But workers from all plants cruised the city, and participated in picketing at all plants, visiting the union halls, keeping an eye on developments.

Negro workers were especially noticeable at the Firestone picket lines. This was not accidental, since the Firestone local has carried on a militant fight for equal rights in the plant.

As soon as the strike broke, Sherman Dalrymple, URW International president, ordered the workers to go back to work. But he soon found it necessary to bend somewhat to the pressure. After the first day of the strike, he joined local officers in demanding the WLB reconsider their insulting decision. In a press statement, he pointed out that "the WLB doesn't realize what a hot potato it has on its hands." Dalrymple realized himself that it was plenty hot. A majority of the members of his International union were on strike, in defiance of his back-to-work order.

BASS ANSWERS CHARGES

Although Dalrymple did not openly attack George Bass, Local 5 president, rumors were circulated that the International Board had accused Bass of being a Lewis agent, and of fomenting the strike for political reasons. Stories were also circulated that the Goodrich local was plotting to withdraw from the URW.

Bass replied to these charges at the Goodrich mass meeting on Thursday morning.

"I am not an agent of John L. Lewis or any of his cohorts," he stated. "We are a part of the United Rubber Workers and the CIO first, last and always. If we have a fight on our hands with some board members, we are not the kind to run away from a fight!"

Although an attempt was made by the press and radio to inject an inner-union dispute into the strike, it was unsuccessful. However, there is considerable dissatisfaction among local union leaders with the methods of Dalrymple and other top URW officers, which will no doubt be aired at the next URW convention in September.

AWAIT NEXT MOVES

The rubber workers are now awaiting action by the WLB. Their unions are stronger than ever. They are now stronger than at any time since the great sitdown wave in 1936-37, which was pioneered by the rubber workers. The pressure of increased living costs mounts each day. Akron, which has all the characteristics of a boom town, has seen prices increase more than 23% since January, 1941, according to a URW survey.

The rubber panel of the WLB revealed that rubber workers have received only about a 7% wage increase since January, 1941; thus, by these figures it can be seen that wages have lagged at least 16% behind the cost of living. The workers here can be depended on to fight to close that gap.

New Mail Address

From now on all mail sent to *The Militant*, and all other periodicals or organizations located in the building from which this paper is published, should be addressed to:

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opposite the theatre

21 MINERS KILLED, SCORES WOUNDED IN MONTH OF MAY

Twenty-one coal miners were killed and a score of others critically injured as a result of explosions which occurred in two southern coal mines in the period between the May 1 and June 1 strikes of the United Mine Workers.

On May 5, a blast at the Etna Coal Coke Company near La Follette, Tenn., closed the main tunnel of the mine and buried twenty-eight men behind a wall of flame and debris. Rescue crews fought for eight hours before they reached the trapped men. Ten miners were dead and eighteen others were removed to the hospital for treatment of critical burns and injuries.

An explosion at the Praco Alabama mine of the Alabama Bi-Products Corporation on May 11 took eleven miners' lives when a blast shattered the main entrance to the mine. Four others were badly burned.

Twenty-one deaths in one week are not something unusual in the coal mining industry.

Thousands of deaths, injuries and permanent disabilities are recorded annually in the coal mines. Yet most of these casualties could have easily been averted by the introduction of minimum safety devices in mines. As officials of the United Mine Workers Union said in a telegram of condolence to the families of the latest victims: "This shocking loss of life continues . . . because of negligence, stupidity or avarice on the part of the managers of industry."

Enemies of the miners have tried to inflame soldiers against the miners by contrasting the miner's conditions with the suffering and sacrifices of the men in the armed forces. But the miners themselves, as these incidents demonstrate, work in the most hazardous of industrial occupations, where loss of limb and life are common occurrences, in war as well as during peacetime.

The mine operators shed crocodile tears about the soldiers when the miners ask for a raise in wages. But they refuse to install the necessary safeguards to lessen the hazards under which the miners must work.

The hypocritical operators have no consideration either for the soldiers or the miners. Their concern is, first and last, with their own profits.

Postal Case Argued in Minneapolis

The Attorneys for the defense in the case of Kelly Postal on May 17, made their oral argument appealing his conviction before the Minnesota Supreme Court, the Civil Rights Defense Committee announced. It is not definitely known when a decision upon Postal's appeal will be handed down by the State Supreme Court.

Meanwhile the Civil Rights Defense Committee is continuing its campaign for funds to defray the heavy legal expenses involved in the case of the victimized Secretary-Treasurer of Teamsters, Local 544-CIO, who is guilty of nothing but his loyalty to trade union democracy.

"We Are Depending Upon Our Brothers In the Unions"

An interesting letter from a union man in the armed forces is prominently featured in the May 20 issue of *Aero Mechanic*, organ of aircraft workers organized in Lodge 751 of the International Association of Machinists in Seattle. In part the letter says:

"The only way I and the thousands of other union men in the services have of keeping in touch with the home front is through our union periodicals. Consequently, we depend upon them entirely to learn the truth about how our rights at home are being preserved...

"We are not all 'Sons of Wall Street' in the army, as most of the newspapers would like to have the public think. We are just as much against unconstitutional special privileges as we ever were. We are willing to di only for the common security of all people, regardless of race, creed or nationality....

"There are many of us who don't like the way things are going at home. Every day we read of more sneak punches at the common working man and more clamoring by the dupes of Wall Street for more special privileges. It must be stopped. These small men must be met on their own ground and defeated. We are depending upon our brothers in the unions."

Bulletin Out On ALP And Its Prospects

A bulletin, "The ALP and Its Prospects" by John Fredericks, has just been issued by the Educational Department of Local New York, Socialist Workers Party.

In the 20 pages of this bulletin, the origin, growth and meaning of the American Labor Party are outlined, and an analysis given of the first election campaigning and its success, the struggle between the Social-Democrats and Stalinists for control; the results of the 1942 elections, and their meaning. In conclusion, the prospects and tendency of the ALP are summed up.

This bulletin containing valuable material sells for 10 cents and can be obtained by ordering from Local New York, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Albert Parker

Roosevelt Sets Up a New FEPC

When War Manpower Commissioner McNutt suddenly cancelled the Fair Employment Practice Committee hearings on employment discrimination on the railroads in January of this year, everyone recognized it to be a victory for Jim Crowism and a death blow to the FEPC. Its chairman resigned, its activities were for the most part discontinued and it was completely discredited in the eyes of the Negro masses.

In February President Roosevelt promised that the railroad hearings would be held after all. McNutt and Attorney General Biddle called a number of anti-Jim Crow organizations into conference and asked their advice on strengthening and reconstituting the FEPC. Official Washington let it be known unofficially that the body to replace the FEPC would be even more effective than the one that had been strangled by McNutt and the Southern Democrats.

Finally, after many delays resulting from difficulties in getting anyone to accept the chairmanship of the FEPC, President Roosevelt on May 27 issued a new executive order superseding Order No. 8802 which had originally established the FEPC. The *Daily Worker* immediately announced that this new decree was a great victory in the struggle against Jim Crow and congratulated the President on having put teeth into the measures against employment discrimination. Because others will undoubtedly make the same claim, it is necessary for every Negro and trade unionist to become acquainted with the character of the new executive order. Only those who know what they are talking about can lead the masses in successful struggle.

As we read the text of the May 27 order, we got the feeling of having come across something already familiar to us, like the feeling you get when after a few years' absence you enter a building you have been in before. Haunted a little by this sensation, we re-read the text and then went to our files and sure enough, found that whole phrases and sentences from it were exact restatements from Executive Order No. 8802 signed in June, 1941. In fact, the two orders are on the whole pretty much identical, differing only in one or two respects, none of them important by any means.

Like its predecessor the new executive order reaffirms "the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of any person in war industries or in government by reason of race, creed, color or national origin" and calls upon employers and labor organizations to eliminate such discrimination; it recognizes "there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in war production solely by reason of their race, creed, color or national origin" — which is really an admission that the work of the FEPC has been largely fruitless in the almost two years since it was established.

In line with the aforesaid policy Roosevelt's executive order provides the following:

1. All war contracts shall contain a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate; every contractor must include a similar provision in all sub-contracts. (The first of these is a repetition of Order 8802; the second is something added for the first time).

2. All government agencies connected with vocational and training programs shall take measures to assure no discrimination. (This was also provided word for word in Order 8802).

3. A new FEPC consisting of a chairman and six others is hereby established in the President's Office for Emergency Management. (Thus the FEPC is transferred from the jurisdiction of the War Manpower Commission, where Roosevelt placed it last year, back to the White House where it was when first set up).

4. The FEPC "shall formulate policies to achieve purposes of this order" and shall make recommendations to federal agencies and the President to bring about "full utilization and training of manpower in and for war production." (This is the same power the FEPC has always had).

5. The FEPC "shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination forbidden by this order. It may conduct hearings, make findings of fact, and take appropriate steps to obtain elimination of such discrimination." (None of this is new either).

6. When the new FEPC is appointed, it takes over the records and funds of the old body.

7. The FEPC may accept help and services of federal and state agencies and officials.

8. "The committee shall have the power to promulgate such rules and regulations as may be appropriate or necessary to carry out the provisions of this order."

In short, the only new power of the FEPC is to make employers holding war sub-contracts promise they will not discriminate in their employment policies. That means the new executive order is as toothless as the old one. It will be remembered that the chief weakness of the original FEPC was that it had no power to do anything to employers who violated the promises they made in signing their contracts. It could hold hearings, issue statements, make recommendations, adopt policies — but it couldn't do anything to employers who wanted to continue their Jim Crow practices; it couldn't, for example, revoke the contracts of these employers or fine them or do anything else that would really be regarded as a punishment by the employers.

The present FEPC has formal jurisdiction over sub-contractors as well as contractors, but it can't do any more to restrict or halt Jim Crowism on the part of either than its powerless predecessor.

One would have to be a double-barreled 14-karat idiot to believe that the new FEPC is the answer to the needs of the Negro people struggling for equality in employment. Experience will soon show that it is only another of the many Roosevelt devices to assure the masses that they have no need to carry on independent militant activity against Jim Crow in industry. It will also show, as it has shown so many times in the past, that the Negro people can depend for progress in this field as in all others only on their own organized strength and that of the labor movement.

Stalin Offers Aid In Strangling Revolution

By WILLIAM F. WARDE

In his letter to a Reuter's correspondent on May 29 Stalin placed his personal stamp of approval upon the dissolution of the Communist International. Like all labor bureaucrats, the Big Boss parleys exclusively with the heads of world capitalism, leaving the job of handling the workers to his underlings.

Stalin's statement serves the dual purpose of assuring Washington and London that his burial of the Comintern is not a ruse and that it will be carried out in good faith. It also points out to his office-boys abroad the policy they must follow.

STALIN'S PURPOSE

When Stalin says that his action "exposes the lie. . . that Moscow intends. . . to Bolshevize other nations," he is promising to oppose Sovietization of non-Slav Europe and the national emancipation of the Asiatic and African peoples.

When Stalin says that an end will be put to the "calumny that Communist Parties in various countries are allegedly acting not in the interest of their people but on orders from the outside," he is really giving his order from the outside to the Stalinists that they must act in the interest of his capitalist allies.

When Stalin states that the dissolution facilitates the unification of all forces "into the single camp of national liberation," he is committing the Stalinists to suppress every manifestation of class struggle, sell out every strike, and curb every movement of the masses frowned upon by the capitalist rulers.

AN OFFICIAL MANDATE

The statement is an official mandate from Stalin to his mercenaries that they must not let the least consideration for the welfare of the workers and colonial peoples stand in the way of the Kremlin's deals with the capitalists of the United Nations.

For Stalin's remark that the CI's dissolution is "perfectly timed" indicates that some such deal is in the offing, if not actually consummated. The interment of the Comintern is apparently part of the political preparation for the Allied invasion of Europe.

While Marshal Stalin is busy appeasing Roosevelt and Churchill, his agents in this country are trying to justify his latest deal to their rank-and-file. Once Stalin dictates the line, their assignment is to ram it down the throats of their followers. This they must do at all cost and by any means, no matter how much logic, common sense, and history are thereby violated.

EFFECT IN C.P. RANKS

The abrupt liquidation of the Comintern has undoubtedly provoked considerable consternation in the Stalinist ranks. If Browder and his colleagues can satisfy the capitalists only with deeds, their followers must be duped, with words and cynical arguments. The Stalinist functionaries take their cues from the Leader and can add nothing new to his explanation. Thus Browder's arguments, the **Daily Worker** editorials and the five articles by James Allen on the dissolution of the Comintern in the **Daily Worker** are simply variations on Stalin's themes.

So much has to be falsified in order to justify the liquidation of the Comintern that it would take more than a score of articles to set things straight. The history of the international labor movement since 1848; the ideas of Marxism and Leninism; the traditions of the Third International; the history of the Communist Party of the United States; world history between the two world wars; and the present world situation — all are perverted in order to fit the present Stalinist policies.

"THE DIFFERENCES AND COMPLEXITIES"

Not until his fourth article on May 29, does Allen touch upon the central question agitating the C.P. ranks: "Why is it that the Communist International now considers it can no longer function effectively?" Allen obviously cannot give the true answer to this question, namely, that Stalin has sold the Comintern to the Anglo-American coalition as part of a deal in return for promised concessions. He can only echo the pretexts given by Stalin's puppets on the Presiding Committee of the Comintern in their announcement, of self-dissolution.

Allen argues that "the differences and complexities" of conditions from country to country have rendered "the Comintern as a form of international organization obsolete." He says: "The problems and tasks of the workers and peoples vary widely as between the countries in the Hitler bloc, the countries in the anti-Hitler coalition, and the overrun and subjugated countries."

This reasoning has a certain amount of sense if viewed from the angle of the problems confronting the Kremlin bureaucracy which finds it difficult to lay down a uniform policy for all these complex situations and requires a completely free hand for its diplomatic maneuvers, deals and convulsive zigzags. But it makes no sense whatsoever when it is approached from the interests of the world working class and the colonial peoples.

ORIGINAL AIM OF C.I.

There were as many "differences and complexities" in the conditions of their struggles from 1914 to 1919 when Lenin and Trotsky launched the Third International. These revolutionary leaders regarded the International as the chief instrument of the struggle of workers and oppressed peoples to emancipate themselves from imperialism. Through their International organization the wage workers in the metropolitan centers were united with the colonial slaves and the workers on both sides of the imperialist battle lines were united in a joint struggle for the abolition of capitalism and the creation of world socialism.

This original aim of Lenin's and Trotsky's International is as urgent today during the Second World War as it was during the First. But there is not a single reference to socialism, to the international revolution, or to the Soviets in the order dissolving the Comintern or in the Stalinist arguments for it.

All that, they say, must be sacrified for the defeat of Hitlerism. But after that, what? What about the world imperialist system? The workers' fight for socialism? The colonial struggle for national liberation? On these vital questions the Stalinists are silent. They hold out no perspectives and set no goal for the liberation of the workers and colonial peoples.

International Notes

By BETTY KUEHN

Just as he "restored equality" to the Jews in North Africa, Giraud has now "restored the freedom of the press."

"Freedom of the press is one of the essential foundations of democracy. The Axis governments were forced to suppress it in order to impose their tyranny," states Giraud's decree, published in the **Journal Officiel** at Algiers on May 29.

"Free France will henceforth find the state of the press as it was fixed by the laws of Aug. 24 and 27, 1939."

France's emergency laws of 1939, to which Giraud refers, were based on the Law of July 11, 1938. This law made provision, over a year in advance, to convert France into a totalitarian nation on the outbreak of the war. Formulated by the "democratic" capitalists under the leadership of Daladier, it froze men, women and children to their jobs; it froze wages; it threatened imprisonment for absence from work, tardiness or for quitting the job; it increased working hours, wiped out seniority and legalized the speedup.

The emergency laws of 1939 supplemented this basic law. They provided, among other things, that to carry on any conversation, even privately, which did not actively support the war, which criticized the way it was being conducted or the laws being adopted, was defeatism—a crime punishable by anything from one week's imprisonment to death. The usual sentence was two years.

They provided for a total suppression of all free speech and discussion. They instituted an hysterically r i g i d censorship which even the reactionary papers protested. For while ostensibly a military censorship controlled by the army, it was in reality a political censorship.

During the first winter of the war, the newspapers went so far as to revolt against this control. As a result, some of the liberal weekly newspapers resumed their attacks on known Hitlerites among the French and other capitalists in Paris.

These real Hitlerites, who discussed the advantages of a Hitler victory while sipping champagne in elegant salons, were indulgently overlooked by the Daladier government. The revolting weekly newspapers were suppressed. The workers who grumbled about their intolerable working conditions under the totalitarian regime instituted by the Law of July 11, were immediately carted off to jail.

It is this legal set-up which Giraud restores as "one of the essential foundations of democracy."

* * *

Committees of Struggle against deportation have been functioning for some time in Belgium according to the first issue, Dec. 1942, of a new Belgian underground newspaper, **La Lutte Contre La Déportation** (The Fight Against Deportation).

Addressed to working men and women, the newspaper calls for "action, not tears" against deportation to Germany.

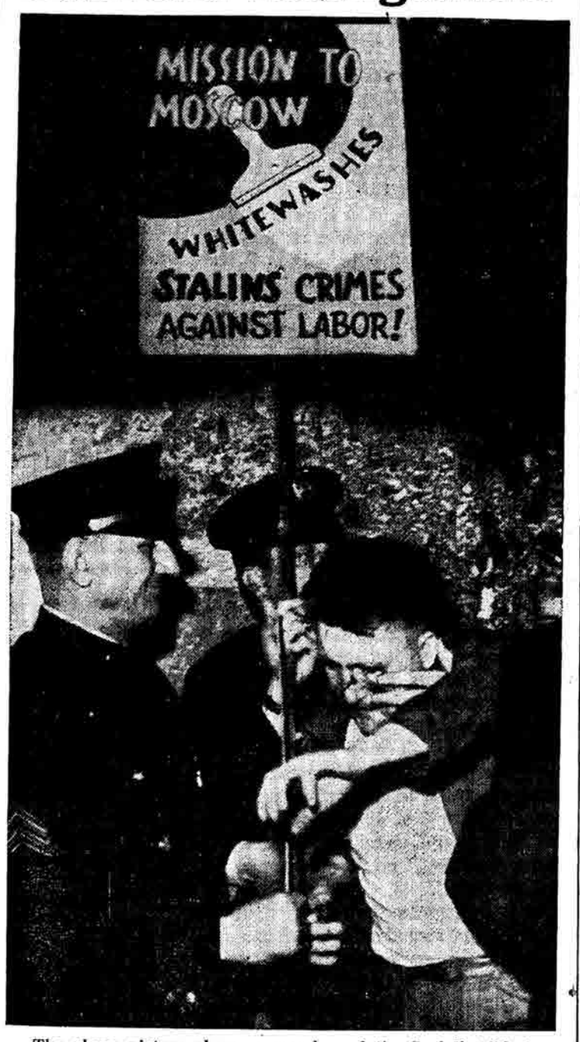
"We will not aid the enemy, we will not work for our own ruin. We will turn our tools against our executioners in order to overthrow them, in order to liberate ourselves! . . .

"This modest paper will serve as a tie between those threatened with deportation, the families of those who have already gone, and the deported themselves. . . It will support everywhere the activity of the Committees of Struggle against deportation. . ."

Although La Lutte comes to us by way of the Belgian Government-in-Exile's publicity office, although we do not know what organization is behind this paper, we do know that Committees of Struggle on popular issues are the beginning of organized revolutionary action.

It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party

Stalinist Hooliganism



The above picture shows a member of the Socialist Workers Party in Milwaukee after he had been assaulted by a Stalinist hoodlum for peacefully protesting the lies in the Davies' film, "Mission To Moscow." See story below.

DAVIES' FILM PROTEST IN MILWAUKEE, SEATTLE

Typical Stalinist gangster tactics were used on May 23 to break up a peaceful demonstration by the Milwaukee local of the Socialist Workers Party against the Davies whitewash film, "Mission To Moscow," during its run at Warner's Theatre in Milwaukee.

For two hours local Stalinists kept interfering with the placard bearers, shouting provocative slogans in the hope of causing a disturbance, and preventing the moviegoers and passers-by from learning the truth. When this failed, an individual notorious for his Stalinist connections, Oscar E. Olson, business manager of Local 164, Motion Picture Projectionists Union, assaulted Albert Stergar, one of the demonstrators who was being interviewed by a local newspaper reporter at the time.

The assailant tried to tear up the placard reading: "'Mission To Moscow' Whitewashes Stalin's Crimes Against Labor." When Stergar resisted, he was slugged, his glasses were broken, and his face badly cut by the splintered glass.

Thereupon the police proceeded to do just what the Stalinists wanted: to break up the demonstration, arresting both Stergar and his assailant Olson on the charge of "disorderly conduct."

Many copies of **The Militant** were sold in front of the theatre and considerable publicity was given to the attack upon the demonstration in the local press.

The recently formed Seattle branch of the SWP organized a mass distribution of protest leaflets and of **The Militant** on May 24, the opening night of the Davies' film at the Orpheum Theatre in that city. Although the attendance on the opening night was quite small, in spite of all the lavish advertising, the branch distributed almost 1,000 pieces of literature telling the truth about "Mission To Moscow" and Stalin's Moscow frameups and purges.

The Seattle Stalinists did not attempt to disrupt the demonstration for the simple reason that they were caught by surprise, and did not have their hoodlums organized sufficiently.

Considerable interest in the Trotskyist literature analyzing the Davies' film was reported both in Milwaukee and Seattle, just as was the case in New York and Hollywood.

Mr. Davies, Warner Brothers and Co. (with the unofficial blessing of the State Department) are beginning to find out that it is not as easy as they thought to sell GPU slander, lies and murders to American movie audiences.

Organize to Aid Lynn Fight

NEW YORK—An inter-racial citizens' committee to aid Winfred Lynn held its first meeting, Sunday, May 24, at 2084 Seventh Ave., to discuss ways of giving publicity and gaining public support for Lynn in his one-man legal fight against the Jim Crow system in the U. S. armed forces.

Lynn is challenging the U. S. Army authorities in court to show cause why he should be compelled to serve in a Jim Crow army. He is demanding his release from the army on the grounds that the segregation imposed upon him and other Negroes is a form of discrimination violating section 4 (a) of the Selective Service Act which prohibits discrimination because of race or color.

The committee formulated plans for circulating a resolution to unions and other workers' organizations to endorse Lynn's fight and to contribute the funds necessary for carrying on the legal struggle.

WHY we Defend The Soviet Union
By ALBERT GOLDMAN
Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York City

Consequences Of The Comintern Dissolution

By M. Morrison

What actual change does the dissolution (or shall we say, the announcement of the dissolution) of the Communist International bring into the functioning of the various Stalinist parties? For the present, at least, I can see nothing important that can be said to have been altered by the dissolution.

The Stalinist parties will continue to function as they have been functioning up to now. They will support the Stalinist bureaucracy no matter what it does. The representative of the GPU on the Central Committee of every Stalinist party will still control the apparatus and determine the policies. Even if we assume that those who signed the decree of dissolution were meeting regularly prior to the decree, and will no longer meet as members of the Executive Committee of the Stalinist International, no actual change has taken place. For these puppets met only at Stalin's behest and decided only upon his orders. Will it be so difficult for him to find a way to "suggest" to his henchmen leading the Stalinist parties of this country or of England that they follow certain policies? And will not these bureaucrats fall all over themselves to abide by the "suggestion?"

It is true that no more proclamations, statements or manifestos will be issued in the name of the Executive Committee of the C.I. If we take into consideration, however, that, since Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, no statements have been forthcoming from that body, it can be seen that even in this minor aspect of the situation there is no actual change.

* * *

But if, for the present, the dissolution of the C.I. means no essential change in the Stalinist system, it does not mean that it has no significance. It is, in the first place, an indication that Stalin will go a long way to yield to the pressure of the capitalist states. It must be recognized that in dissolving the C.I. he has not given up anything important, even from his own standpoint and surely from the standpoint of revolutionary socialism.

He has surrendered something that is of importance only to the sincere rank and filers of the Stalinist parties, who mean to be revolutionary. They like to think of themselves as internationalists and as members of an international organization. To pacify them the bureaucrats will undoubtedly intimate that the dissolution is only a maneuver. Many militants cling to the Stalinist parties because of the hints and suggestions privately spread by the bureaucrats that the opportunist policies are only temporary maneuvers designed to fool the capitalists.

The Stalinist International is not the only thing that Stalin is prepared to sacrifice. To rebuild the vast number of industrial plants and machines destroyed by Hitler's forces he will look for help to American capitalism. But American capitalism, anxious as it is for profits, will not look favorably upon the idea of helping to rebuild the national economy of a state where capitalism is not permitted to exist. It will inevitably press for political concessions. **It will demand aid in suppressing workers' revolutions in Europe; it will press for the dissolution of the foreign trade monopoly in the Soviet Union; it will demand the dissolution of the Stalinist parties. The dissolution of the C.I. is an indication that Stalin is prepared to yield all along.**

It is also symbolic of the Russian nationalism which the Stalinist bureaucracy has tried so hard to evoke amongst the Soviet masses and to which it has made such ardent appeals since Hitler's attack. For the bureaucrats, this nationalistic sentiment has become the driving force for the defense of the Soviet Union. In dissolving the C. I. Stalin has, in a very demonstrative manner, shown that there is nothing of internationalism left in the regime of the bureaucracy. The only thing that formally could be said to indicate that there was something international about the Stalinist regime was the nominal existence, in Moscow, of the C.I. And now even that ghost has been laid low.

* * *

Does the dissolution of the C.I. presage the dissolution of the Stalinist parties in the countries where they still exist? These parties are a convenient, if not a powerful, weapon in Stalin's hands. Through them he is assured of a certain amount of support in countries outside of the Soviet Union, regardless of the character of his actions. They are his propaganda mediums. They are also a form of insurance against the growth of Trotskyist parties. **Dissolve the Stalinist organizations and those workers who want to join a revolutionary party and mistakenly consider the Stalinist parties as such will have nowhere to go except into the Trotskyist movement.**

All these factors favor the proposition that Stalin will not dissolve his parties unless he stands to gain something important thereby. It all depends on his needs, on how much pressure is exerted on him by the capitalists and on what price they are willing to pay in return for the dissolution of the parties. If, after the war, or even before the war is over, he is in desperate need of economic help he will not hesitate to dissolve the parties in return for such help. On the other hand, if the situation between the Soviet Union and its present allies should become tense, he will utilize his parties as his fifth column.

Should Stalin decide to dissolve his parties he will, in all probability, not do so in the formal manner that he followed in the case of the C.I. To dissolve a non-functioning upper body of a dozen or more individuals is one thing; to dissolve a party with thousands of members is quite another thing. Different methods must be followed. I look forward to the dropping of the word 'Communist' from the name of the party. That may be the first step. It may not be at all surprising, if, in this country, the Stalinists should merge with that section of the American Labor Party which they control. In England the entry of the Stalinists into the Labor Party, if that should be permited, could serve as the means for the gradual dissolution of the party. It may also be that a great agitation will be started for the entry of the Stalinists into the Second International, although that is not so probable because of the conscious hostility of the right-wing social-democrats to the Stalinists.

(To Be Continued)

Tax Bill Soaks Poor; Boon To Profiteers

The tax bill finally drafted by the Joint Congressional committees gives Big Business what its representatives have been fighting for since last Christmas — a tax-cancellation program enabling them to keep their swollen 1942 war profits, while shifting an ever greater tax load on the backs of the workers and dirt farmers.

The tax plan now scheduled to be passed by Congress is a variation of the Ruml plan and the other "pay-as-you-go" schemes to relieve the rich of billions in taxes. The bill, adopted by the Congressional conference and originally sponsored in the Senate by the National Association of Manufacturers, wipes out 75% of all taxes owed on 1942 income over $50.

On this basis, a worker earning $40 a week in 1942 will have about $100 in taxes cancelled, while a monopolist with an income of a million dollars will collect to the tune of not less than $640,500!

While the upper-income bracketeers, who have already set aside their 1942 taxes pocket 75% of these vast sums, the medium and lower income tax groups will find their direct and hidden tax load hiked way up, by the bill. For in addition to paying much higher 1943 taxes, they will also have to pay a stiff tax on 1942 income.

For example, a married man making $3,200 will pay current taxes of $361 on 1943 income plus $45 a year for the next two years on his 1942 income. In other words, more than 1½ month's income.

Nor is this all. The Treasury Department wants an additional 16 billions this year. It is proposed to raise most of this by a federal sales-tax, which will hit not the big taxpayers but the small fry. According to the most conservative estimates, $200 will be the cost of the envisaged sales tax program to a poor man who has had $50 in taxes "cancelled," thus leaving him another $150 in the hole.

(See editorial on the new tax bill on Page 4 of this issue).

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

Historic Meeting

The mass meeting in New York City last week addressed by James P. Cannon derives its importance above all from the fact that it comes as an affirmation of international solidarity in the midst of the Second World War. It testifies that the internationalism of the working class is indestructible.

To philistines a public demonstration of internationalism by more than 300 revolutionary workers is something to scoff at. In the same way, their predecessors jeered at a handful of internationalists during the first world war, assembled in a little Swiss village, Zimmerwald, and later at Kienthal to reaffirm internationalism and to begin building the Third International in place of the dead Second International.

Lenin and Trotsky were hardly able to mobilize thirty co-thinkers in the whole of Europe. They could only project the need of a new international, which was not formed until 1919, that is, two years after the victorious Russian revolution. But today, even pedants in capitalist universities understand the historic importance of Zimmerwald and Kienthal where internationalism was reaffirmed in the last war. Moreover, Lenin and Trotsky had to begin their fight for the new international, only after the collapse of the old one had caught the entire revolutionary generation by surprise.

But it is twenty years since the Russian Left Opposition began its heroic and unprecedented fight against the bureaucratic degeneration corroding the Soviet Union and the Communist International. It is almost fifteen years since the American Trotskyists, headed by James P. Cannon, initiated the struggle for the program of the Russian Left Opposition in the Communist movement of this country. It is almost five years since the Founding Congress of the Fourth International, the only International that met on the eve of the war, and during it; the only International that has continued the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky in their spirit and according to their ideas; the only International that has survived the war; and the only one that will survive in the days ahead.

The New York meeting is important historically because it is striking proof that despite the betrayals of Stalinism, the struggle for world socialism is being carried forward.

The ideas of the Fourth International will conquer because they are the ideas of socialist internationalism; because they are precious heritage of the First and Second Internationals of Marx and Engels and of the Third International — not of Stalin — but of Lenin and Trotsky.

Walker Denounced On Senate Floor

On the Senate floor Postmaster General Walker, who is also chairman of the Democratic National Committee, was accused on May 13 by Senator Langer of North Dakota of using the second-class mailing right as "a whip to beat the American publications into party lines."

Langer cited the case of the *Police Gazette* which, he said, was deprived of its second-class mailing rights because it switched to the Republican Party in 1940 after supporting Roosevelt so vigorously in 1936 that Walker's Democratic National Committee bought a quarter million copies for distribution.

Langer also charged that Roosevelt's Postmaster General had restored second-class rights to four other publications after their rich publishers had retained an ex-chairman of the Democratic National Committee as attorney.

The Senator from North Dakota has discussed this question a number of times but he has never mentioned the outstanding case of political persecution by the Postmaster General. Last March he ordered the second-class mailing privileges of *The Militant* cancelled because it expresses anti-fascist, anti-Big Business and anti-Jim Crow views and because, as a revolutionary socialist paper, it uncompromisingly opposes all capitalist parties and all reactionary policies, including those of the present administration.

The Militant has no influential capitalist politicos to lobby among their fellow-Congressmen for the restoration of our cancelled privileges. Although dozens of labor and liberal papers have protested the Postmaster General's attack upon us as a "dangerous precedent," no Senator has so far spoken up in our behalf.

Nevertheless we propose to continue our fight for free speech until our second-class privileges are restored and until arbitrary powers of suppression and censorship are taken away from an appointed official who also heads the National Committee of the ruling political party. Such totalitarian practices have nothing in common with democracy. The constitutional guarantees of free speech and free press mean that every paper and every party shall have the right to publish their ideas without interference from government officials.

Taxes and Politics

Congress has refused to limit salaries while Roosevelt freezes wages. Now this week a joint Congressional committee has drafted a tax cancellation bill that wipes out billions in 1942 taxes owed by the profiteers. Every member of the Senate Finance Committee which helped write this bill is either a millionaire or was a corporation lawyer.

CIO President Murray has pleaded with Congress to reject this tax-grab. But it seems that these ultra-reactionary Democratic and Republican politicians intend to pass the bill, despite the protests of organized labor. Organized labor has no reliable representatives of its own in Congress to expose and prevent the projects of the millionaires and their agents.

Thirteen million trade unionists and their families count for less in the eyes of the present Congress than America's 60 ruling families! Their tax 'steal' provides one more powerful argument for the building of an Independent Labor Party by the trade unions. Without the weapon of independent political action the workers cannot counteract the blows inflicted upon them by the profiteers and their Democratic-Republican agents in Washington.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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THE MONTH IN REVIEW

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. *Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.*

Mutiny Reported On German U-Boat

Editor:

A cable to the *N. Y. Times* of May 22 from Rio de Janeiro contains some striking revelations about the "commander and crew of the German submarine which surrendered three days ago to Allid warships off the coast of Alagoas." The crew of this Nazi vessel mutinied and a pitched battle took place in which "five German sailors were reported killed and the 26 years' commander of the U-boat wounded."

This is at least the second time that the Allied press has reported mutiny within the German navy, the first being the mutiny on the battleship "Bismark" shortly before it was sunk three years ago.

The history of our century teaches us that a navy is an excellent political barometer. We need only recall the revolutionary record of the Czarist, the German and French navies during and after the last war. For example, as early as 1917 a mutiny of German sailors occurred; and on October 28, 1918 another one erupted on the warship "Mark Graf" stationed at Kiel, which was the precursor to the November insurrection in Germany that same year.

The recent mutiny is something to convince us that the German masses will finally arise, destroy Nazism and do their share in building the Socialist United States of Europe.

J. R.
New York City

Women Get WLB Run-Around

Editor:

Your article on the Akron rubber workers' call for a "holiday" on June 2, as a protest against the WLB run-around, brought to my mind a similar action recently planned in Chicago.

In the Buick Aviation plant at Melrose Park, Ill., the management had been chiselling on its agreement to pay women the same wages as the men. After six months, the women could stand it no longer, and introduced a resolution at a membership meeting calling for a 24-hour meeting on a Saturday. This action was overwhelmingly approved, and then endorsed by the stewards and committeemen. Almost at the same time, the management proceeded to flaunt the protests by an order stating that hereafter women hired for machine jobs would be paid 10 cents below the hourly rate for men. This set the local on fire.

The regional office, seeing the temper of the membership, communicated with the International office who got after Simpkin of the WLB and obtained a promise from him to proceed immediately to hear the case. Thereupon the demonstration was called off, at the last moment.

But many people in this new local learned some very important things. First, that the International's do-nothing policy gets one nowhere. Secondly, that the employers and the WLB can be brought to heel when they see the workers are determined to carry through militant action.

C. H.
Chicago, Ill.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

CHARLES PAMPHLET HIGHLY PRAISED

The second edition of the best-selling pamphlet by C. Charles, "Your Standard of Living — What's Happening to It?", came off the press last week, Pioneer Publishers announced. At the same time the pamphlet was highly praised by a reviewer, Thelma Thurston Gorham, in the May 22 issue of the prominent Negro weekly, the Pittsburgh Courier. Her review is printed below in full:

"Clamorings of the Farm Bloc focus our attention on the food situation and the rising tide in prices...but we hardly need to look as far afield as Congress to view with alarm what is happening to the old standards by which we used to live. You feel like moving to the outskirts of town and raising your own foodstuffs every time you go to the market. But you can't move and you'd like to figure out some way to protect your rapidly-falling living standards. For you, we recommend a 32 page pamphlet, 'Your Standard of Living — What's Happening to It?' by C. Charles (Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York).

"With charts and estimates based on information made available by the Consumers' Union, it not only points out how the attack of frozen wages, skyrocketing prices, food shortages and mounting taxes is affecting the working classes but suggests a protective program for the workers who pay and pay. For your own enlightenment and that of your friends, you'd make no mistake to get several copies of this informative little pamphlet (price 5 cents)."

Dobbs' Tour Stresses Need For Labor Party

(Continued from page 1)

War II, the speaker pointed out, the working class was more and more confronted with acute problems, no longer to be met and solved in the old way. The misleaders of labor surrendered the one really effective weapon of the trade union struggle—the right to strike. Every conflict, even those involving the most elementary union demands, found the workers no longer facing an individual employer nor an association of employers, but the executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole—the government. Under the impact of unbridled reaction, when the capitalists are trying to seize the opportunity of the war crisis to destroy the labor movement, the workers are becoming aware of the stupidity of giving political support to their would-be executioners, of both the Democratic and Republican varieties. In this situation the American working class is impelled, in order to preserve its organizations, gains and liberties, to forge new instruments of struggle.

THE NEW STAGE AND ITS NEEDS

In this stage of development, Farrell Dobbs emphasized, it was necessary to intensify the campaign for independent labor action by transforming the Labor Party slogan from a slogan of propaganda to one of agitation. There is a gap between the political backwardness of the American working class and its revolutionary power, its militant tradition of struggle. The problem is to bridge this gap; and the Labor Party slogan, as the first step toward a complete break with the capitalist political parties, provides such a bridge.

FARRELL DOBBS

In the space of this report it is of course impossible to reproduce the whole of Comrade Dobbs' analysis of the critical period in the life of the American working class. It was a real treat for those able to attend the meeting and we all came away with a much better understanding of the nature of the problem and the necessity for mobilizing all of our forces for a bang-up campaign.

Just to start the ball rolling, a collection was taken at the meeting which totalled $100. Comrade Dobbs' analysis was so impregnated with revolutionary optimism that we in San Francisco were given a real lift. Don't miss hearing Farrell Dobbs when he comes to your city—come hell or high water!

OTHER MEETINGS

After the meetings in San Francisco on May 24 and 28, Comrade Dobbs spoke at Portland and Seattle.

His scheduled tour dates follow:

DATE	PLACE
June 7, 10	Twin Cities
June 14	Milwaukee
June 15, 18	Chicago
June 19, 20	St. Louis
June 23, 24	Flint
June 25, 27	Detroit
June 28	Toledo
June 29, July 1	Cleveland
July 2, 4	Akron
July 5, 7	Youngstown
July 8, 10	Buffalo
July 11, 12	Rochester
July 14, 15	Boston
July 16, 17	New Haven
July 18	New York

Dates have not yet been announced for meetings in Newark, Philadelphia, Reading and Bayonne.

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The Militant has always scrupulously adhered to the letter of postal regulations. In the interest of safeguarding *The Militant* against persecution, we urge all purchasers of bundle orders of this publication to comply rigorously with the above-mentioned postal law.

Browder Woos the 'Times' And Gets the Bum's Rush

When the N. Y. Times, the authoritative organ of American capitalism, greeted Stalin's order dissolving the Comintern by demanding that the American Stalinists immediately follow suit, Earl Browder promptly replied that "we are prepared to discuss. . . that the Communist party should also dissolve itself." (N. Y. Times, May 29.)

For his part, Browder then placed on the agenda "for discussion" two additional proposals: 1) "The offer of the Communist party of cooperative effort to lay the 'specter of communism'." 2) To further cooperate in introducing a totalitarian dictatorship in this country, or, in Browder's words, if "our responsible war leadership should consider it necessary to victory the normal operation of our political party system should be suspended. . .we are prepared to discuss that also." (Idem.)

The Times dismisses Browder's grovelling with a curt contemptuous answer. The Times editors know who has the final say on this and all other really important matters in connection with the C.P. Why should they discuss with all the Browders, big and little, who must do the bidding of their master in the Kremlin and perform any chore, no matter how dirty, in the labor movement? The capitalist Times has the same kind of contempt for the Stalinist sell-out artists that the police have for stool-pigeons.

The very same thing applies to Browder's offer to "lay the specter of communism." Why discuss with Stalin's flunkeys the plans to crush the German and European revolution, and the movements of the Asiatic peoples for emancipation? Such questions are discussed with the Kremlin itself. As regards establishing a dictatorship in this country, that is something that the American capitalists will discuss only among its top circles, and least of all with hirelings like Browder.

But Browder's proposals will indeed become the subject of discussion not only within the Stalinist party and its periphery but among the American workers as well. Even the most politically backward can now appraise the Stalinist scabs in their true light. Today, they are the most vicious strike-breakers in the trade unions. They are ready to surrender whatever democracy the American people still possess and bow down to the totalitarian rule of the capitalist class. They are not communists as Browder admits, but anti-communists.

Indict Steel Corporation For Faking Test Records

A federal grand jury, in session in Pittsburgh since the beginning of April, voted last week to indict the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, subsidiary of the powerful U. S. Steel, for selling the government substandard steel armor plate and thus endangering the lives of thousands in the armed forces and merchant marine of the United States and its allies.

The monopolists of U. S. Steel have tried to shift the blame for this crime onto the shoulders of four of its employes, and government officials had tried to secure an indictment against these four. But the grand jury refused to indict them, thus indicating indirectly at least that the evidence it had sifted showed the responsibility for the criminals frauds lay with the steel corporation itself.

The indictment accused the corporation of falsifying its test records in order to hide its dirty work, of withholding its records for 24 hours from government investigators for the purpose of destroying some of them and thus "concealing from the government agencies the fact that numerous fictitious reports of physical tests (on the steel sold) had been made."

Meanwhile, another corporation which has been caught redhanded in the sale to the government of defective war material, on which the lives of soldiers depended, seems to be doing all right for itself. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company, which controls Anaconda Wire and Cable, indicted by the government early this year, last month reported a profit of $9,085 359 after taxes for the first quarter of 1943.

Rich Rake in Profits 'Taken Out of War'

By DINA SANDERS

There has long been a concerted drive in the press, radio and pulpit to convince us all that profits have been taken out of this war, or practically so.

Last week's New Republic publishes a table of figures, not its own, but those compiled by the National City Bank and based on the "net incomes of all active corporations in the United States." This table shows that profits of Big Business, **even after federal** taxes had been deducted, increased approximately 70% from 1939 to 1942. Furthermore, in the first quarter of 1943, profits were 7% higher than in the corresponding period of 1942.

Even the bankers can't hide these facts, but they can hide the fact that the profits of "all active corporations" go far higher than the estimated 70%. Hidden profits have zoomed the booty into the realm of astronomy.

There are many ways, legal and otherwise, to hide profits. One is through "property improvements," i.e., enlarging the plants at government expense. Other ways are: huge salaries to company officials, swollen advertising bills, long-term amortization, reserve funds, emergency funds, etc., etc.

What they really mean when they talk of taking profits out of this war is—keeping them out of the public record.

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